



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Advocate of Peace

VOL. LXXIX

JULY, 1917

NUMBER 7

BEFORE STATING OUR TERMS

BEFORE stating our terms, let us remind ourselves that humanity—that is to say, the society of nations in its collective aspects—is the great interest of the statesman. In performing his duty to mankind the statesman can fulfill his obligations to his State. Indeed, if he falls short of his duty to States collectively, by so far he falls short of his highest duty to his own State particularly. But in an ungoverned world such as is ours, when his own State is at war with other States, this principle is manifestly less operative than in time of peace. Indeed, sad to say, it may be that the law then becomes quite inoperative; for in war “laws are silent,” there being no means of giving them voice. In war time the statesmen are driven back within the narrow limits of their own nation’s immediate needs and resources. Their individual governments then become their all. Self-protection becomes the chief purpose of war and restricts their activities to the advancement of that particular portion of humanity within the confines of their own or allied nations. The friendly co-operation of all nations, and that with essentially no exception, is necessary to any effectively governed world. International action, including peace, can only follow where there is internationally organized opinion. For these reasons constructive work for international peace is necessarily hampered in time of war. Addison may not have been wholly right when he said:

“When vice prevails and impious men bear sway,
The post of honor is a private station.”

Yet it is after war that statesmen, real statesmen, internationally-minded statesmen, can get that adequate hearing which ends in constructive policies.

It cannot be too often urged that the problem of international peace is an international problem to be solved by international effort. No nation can of itself establish the peace of the world any more than can one of two litigants establish the justice of their controversy. Hence peace-workers need to raise their eyes to the full significance of their task and to the only means of its accomplishment. It is easy to become lost in the maze of the near at hand. Where the pacifist has no vision beyond the immediate problems facing his own government, the real works for peace perish. This much must frequently be said, especially must it be made perfectly clear before entering upon any serious discussion of the terms of peace.

THE SIMPLICITY OF OUR PRESENT TERMS

IN HIS note to Russia, delivered at Petrograd on May 26, President Wilson used these words: “The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it.” And yet many of our people seem highly disturbed that this Government does not “state the terms” which it will be willing to accept as the basis of a permanent peace. Details are asked for. The assumption is that we are not clear as to just why we are fighting or as to what we are after. Mass-meetings are held calling upon the President for “terms.” There is an organization known as “The American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace.” These things are true in spite of the fact that our terms have been stated in one sentence, a sentence which seems to express very clearly the total immediate purpose of the United States Government.

From our point of view it is true that the two great outstanding things for which we may and ought to stand are: the withdrawal of the Germans from Belgium and from France. Besides evacuating these two innocent and long-suffering nations, it is the undoubted duty of Germany to reimburse, as far as possible, these two countries for the cruel injustices of her behavior. About Servia we are not so clear.

Beyond accomplishing this, it is difficult to define America’s course. The future is most obscure. Some of our best interpreters contend, for instance, that Alsace-Lorraine must be reorganized as a neutral buffer state under international guarantees; others insist that they be returned to France. The problem of the German colonies is a real problem. A number in our Society urge that these colonies should be returned to Germany, with the exception of German West Africa and the islands in the Pacific; that for these proper exchanges should be made. Some believe that Tsing-tao and Kiaochow should be given back to China, to compensate for which, if necessary, the leases of Japan in South Manchuria might be extended beyond 1923. Some of us believe that Italy should have the Trentino, not Triest, not Fiume, not Albania. The member of the American Peace Society best acquainted with affairs in the Balkans advises us that for Bulgaria, the Treaty of Bucharest should, in his judgment, be revised; the Dobrudja, including Silistria, should be returned; also Kavalla, Monastir, and Okhrida—the part of Macedonia south of Uskub. He thinks that Greece should have